1; Thurston & Rangachari E,C-4,5 (no date) 1909
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763 other to fee the guardian of the fairy-like bridge that
(775) spans the dreaded tide. If sense remains to the wretched man, he knows that now his death is nigh. Despair and the gold make recovery impossible, and there are none who have swallowed the Birianhana, and yet have
(775) lived. If insensibility or deathly weakness make it impossible for the coin to pass the thorax, it is carefully bound in cloth, and tied to the right arm, so that there may be nought to hinder the passage of a worthy soul
(538) into the regions of the blessed." The giving of the coin to the dying man is apparently an important item, and, in the Badaga folk-tales, a man on the point of death is
• 764 made to ask for a Vīrarāya fanam. When life is extinct, the corpse is kept within the house until the erection of the funeral car (gudikattu) is completed. Though Gover states that the burning must not be delayed more than twenty-four hours, at the present day the Badagas postpone the funeral till all the near relations have assembled, even if this necessitates the keeping of the corpse for two or three days. Cremation may take place on any day,
763 except Tuesday. News of a death is conveyed to distant
177 hamlets (hattis) by a Toreya, who is paid a rupee for his services. On approaching a hamlet, he removes his turban, to signify the nature of his errand, and, standing on the side of a hill, yells out "Dho! Dho! who is in the hamlet"? Having imparted his news, he proceeds on
764 his journey to the next hamlet. On the morning of the day fixed for the funeral, the corpse is taken on a charpoy or native cot to an open space, and a buffalo led thrice round it. The right hand of the corpse is then lifted up, and passed over the horns of the buffalo. A little milk is drawn, and poured into the mouth of the corpse. Prior to this ceremony, two or three buffaloes may be let loose, and one of them captured, after the

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764 manner of the Todas, brought near the corpse, and conducted round the cot. The funeral car is built up in five to eleven tiers, decorated with cloths and streamers, and one tier must be covered with black chintz. At the funeral of a young man, the Rev. A. C. Clayton noticed that the car was surmounted by a flag, and hung about with bread, oranges, plantains, and the bag containing the books which the youth had used in the Basel Mission School.* By the poorer members of the community the car is replaced by a cot covered with cloth, and surmounted by five umbrellas. Immediately after the buffalo ceremony, the corpse is carried to the car, and placed in the lowest storey thereof, washed, and dressed in coat and turban. A new dhupati (coarse cloth) is wrapped round it. Two silver coins (Japanese yens or rupees) are stuck on the forehead. Beneath the cot are placed a crowbar, and baskets containing cakes, parched paddy, tobacco, chick pea (*Cicer arietinum*), jaggery and sāmai flour. A number of women, relations and friends of the dead man, then make a rush to the cot, and, sitting on it round the corpse, keep on waiting, while a woman near its head rings a bell. When one batch is tired, it is replaced by another. Badaga men then pour in in large numbers, and salute the corpse by touching the head, Toreyas and female relations touching the feet. Of those who salute, a few place inside the dhupati a piece of white cloth with red and yellow stripes, which has been specially prepared for the purpose. All then proceed to dance round the car to the music of the Kota band, near male relations removing their turban or woollen night cap, as a mark of respect, during the first three revolutions. Most of the male dancers are dressed up in

(292)
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* Madras Mail, 1907.

(764) gaudy petticoats and smart turbans. "No woman," Mr.
(292) Natesa Sastri writes, "mingles in the funeral dance
if the dead person is a man, but, if the deceased is a
(562) woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the
dead, takes part in it." But, at the funerals of two men which we witnessed, a few women danced together with the men. Usually the tribesmen continue to arrive until 2 or 3 P.M. Relations collect outside the village, and advance in a body towards the car, some, especially the sons-in-law of the dead man, riding on ponies, some of them carrying sāmai grain. As they approach the car, they shout "Ja! hoch; Ja! hoch." The Muttu Kotas bring a double iron sickle with imitation buffalo horns on the tip, which is placed, with a hatchet, buguri (flute), and walking stick, on the car or on the ground beside it. When all are assembled, the cot is carried to an open space between the house and the burning-ground, followed by the car and a party of women carrying the baskets containing grain, etc. The car is then stripped of its trappings, and hacked to pieces. The widow is brought close to the cot, and removes her nose ornament (elemukkuthi), and other jewels. At both the funerals which we witnessed, the widow had a narrow strip of coloured chintz over her shoulders. Standing near the corpse, she removed a bit of wire from her ear-rings, a lock of hair, and a palm leaf roll from the lobe of the ear, and tied them up in the cloth of her dead husband. After her, the sisters of the dead man cut off a lock of
(824) hair, and, in like manner, tied it in the cloth. Women attached to a man by illegitimate ties sometimes also cut off a lock of hair, and, tying it to a twig of *Dodonæa*
(783) *viscosa*, place it inside the cloth. Very impressive is the recitation, or after-death confession of a dead man's sins by an elder of the tribe standing at the head of the

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764 783 126 123 corpse, and rapidly chanting the following lines, or a variation thereof, while he waves his right hand during each line towards the feet. The reproduction of the recitation in my phonograph never failed to impress the daily audience of Badagas, Kotas and Todas.

539 764 783

This is the death of Āndi.
In his memory the calf of the cow Belle has been set free.
From this world to the other.
He goes in a car.
Everything the man did in this world.
All the sins committed by his ancestors.
All the sins committed by his forefathers.
All the sins committed by his parents.
All the sins committed by himself.
The estranging of brothers.
Shifting the boundary line.
Encroaching on a neighbour's land by removing the hedge.
Driving away brothers and sisters.
Cutting the kalli tree stealthily.
Cutting the mulli tree outside his boundary.
Dragging the thorny branches of the kotte tree.
Sweeping with a broom.
Splitting green branches.
Telling lies.
Uprooting seedlings.
Plucking growing plants, and throwing them in the sun.
Giving young birds to cats.
Troubling the poor and cripples.
Throwing refuse water in front of the sun
Going to sleep after seeing an eclipse of the moon.
Looking enviously at a buffalo yielding an abundance of milk.
Being jealous of the good crops of others.
Removing boundary stones.
Using a calf set free at the funeral.
Polluting water with dirt.
Urinating on burning embers.
Ingratitude to the priest.
Carrying tales to the higher authorities.

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539 Poisoning food.
764 Not feeding a hungry person.
783 Not giving fire to one half frozen.
Killing snakes and cows.
Killing lizards and blood-suckers.
Showing a wrong path.
Getting on the cot, and a'lowing his father-in-law to sleep on the ground.
Sitting on a raised verandah, and driving thence his mother-in-law.
Going against natural instincts.
Troubling daughters-in-law.
Breaking open lakes.
Breaking open reservoirs of water.
Being envious of the prosperity of other villages.
Getting angry with people.
Misleading travellers in the forest.
Though there be three hundred such sins,
Let them all go with the calf set free to-day.
May the sins be completely removed!
May the sins be forgiven!
May the door of heaven be open!
May the door of hell be closed!
May the hand of charity be extended!
May the wicked hand be shrivelled!
May the door open suddenly!
May beauty or splendour prevail everywhere!
May the hot pillar be cooled!
May the thread bridge * become light!
May the pit of perdition be closed!
May he reach the golden pillar!
Holding the feet of the six thousand Athis,
Holding the feet of the twelve thousand Pathis,
Holding the feet of Brahma,
Holding the feet of the calf set free to-day,
May he reach the abode of Siva!
So mote it be.

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* The bridge spanning the river of death, which the blessed cross in safety.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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The recitation is repeated thrice, and a few Badagas repeat the last words of each line after the elder. It was noticed by the Rev. A. C. Clayton that, during the recitation, the people surrounded the bier on three sides, leaving a lane open to the west. The sins of the dead man were transferred to another as sin-bearer, and finally passed away down the lane. As the ceremony witnessed by us differs materially from the account thereof given by Gover nearly forty years ago, I may quote his description. "By a conventional mode of expression, the sum total of sins a man may do is said to be thirteen hundred. Admitting that the deceased has committed them all, the performer cries aloud 'Stay not their flight to God's pure feet.' As he closes, the whole assembly chants aloud 'Stay not their flight.' Again the performer enters into details, and cries 'He killed the crawling snake. It is a sin.' In a moment the last word is caught up, and all the people cry 'It is a sin.' As they shout, the performer lays his hand upon the calf. The sin is transferred to the calf. Thus the whole catalogue is gone through in this impressive way. But this is not enough. As the last shout 'Let all be well' dies away, the performer gives place to another, and again confession is made, and all the people shout 'It is a sin.' A third time it is done. Then, still in solemn silence, the calf is let loose. Like the Jewish scapegoat, it may never be used for secular work." Dr. Rivers writes that "the Badagas let loose a calf at a funeral, to bear the sins of the deceased. It is possible that the calf in the Toda ceremony may have the same [71] significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been bor-

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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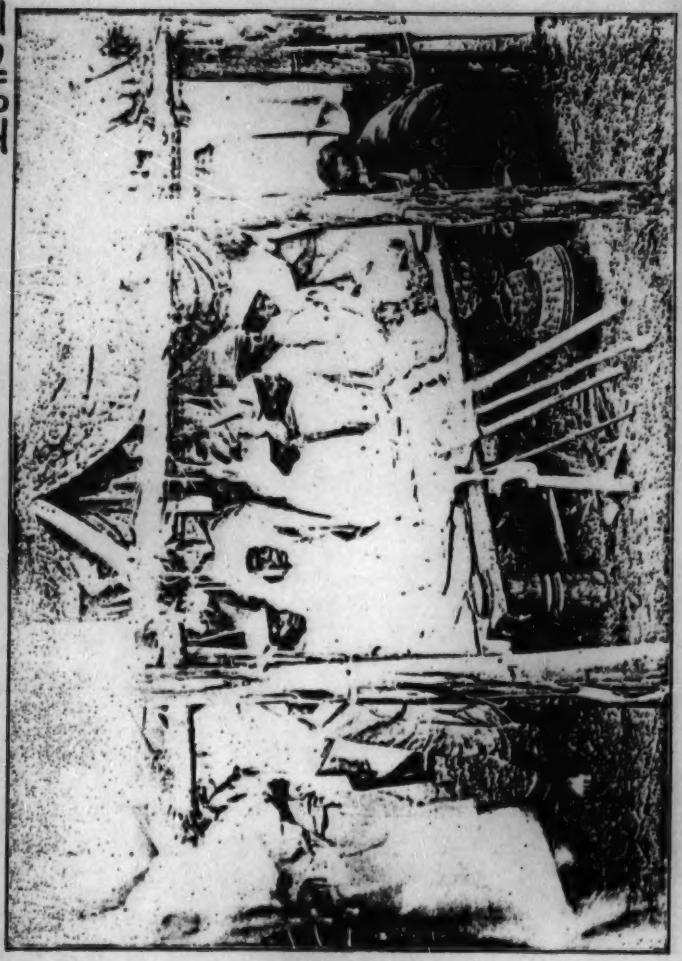

BADAGA FUNERAL CAR WITH THE CORPSE.

[facing p. 117]

764 (824) quantity of paddy is poured, and a few culms of *Cynodon Dactylon* and a little cow-dung are placed on it. The eldest of the agnates, sickle in hand, takes some of the paddy, and moves on, raising both hands to his forehead. The other agnates then do the same, and proceed in Indian file, males in front and females in the rear, to the corpse. Round it they walk, men from left to right, and women in the reverse direction, and at the end of each circuit put some of the paddy on its face. The cot is then carried to the burning-ground, a woman heading the procession, and shaking the end of her cloth all the way. The corpse is laid on the pyre with its feet to the south, and the pyre lighted by the eldest son standing at the head. The sticks of which the car was constructed are added to the fuel, of which the pyre is built up. In some places the son, when lighting the pyre, repeats the words "Being begotten by my father and mother, I, in the presence of all and the Dēva, set fire at the head after the manner of my ancestors and forefathers." The Rev. A. C. Clayton records that, before the procession started for the burning-ground, some female relatives of the dead man tied locks of their hair round the toes of the corpse, and others went three times round the bier. On the day following the funeral, the bereaved family distribute rice to all the Badagas of the hamlet, and all the near relations of the deceased go to the burning-ground, taking with them two new pots. The fire is extinguished, and the fragments of the bones are (824) collected. A tray is made of the fronds of the bracken fern (*Pteris aquilina*) covered with a cloth, on which the bones are placed together with culms of *Cynodon* grass and ghī. The Badagas of the hamlet who are younger than the deceased salute the bones by touching them, and a few men, including the chief mourner,

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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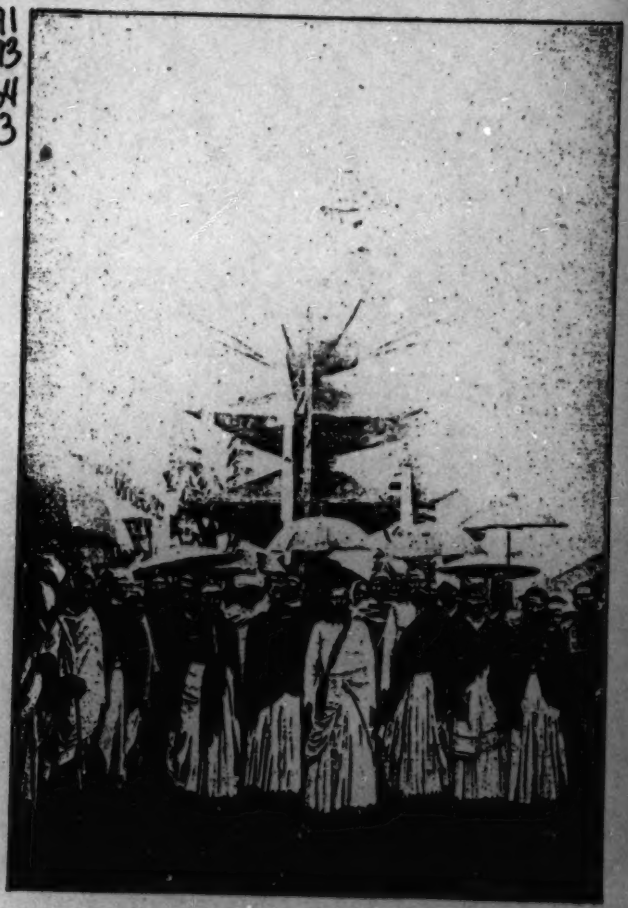

BADAGA FUNERAL CAR.

[Facing p. 1197]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

•764 hold the tray, and convey it to the bone pit, which every hamlet possesses. Into it the bones are thrown, while an elder repeats the words "Become united with the line of your relations, with your class, and with the big people," or "May the young and old who have died, may all those who have died from time immemorial up to the present time, mingle in one." (824) When the pit has been closed up, all return to the spot where the body was burnt, and, clearing a space, make a puddle, round which they stand, and throw into it a handful of korali (*Setaria italica*), uttering the words "May deaths cease; may evils cease; may good prevail in the village; in virtue of the good deeds of the ancestors and forefathers, may this one mingle with them." This ceremony concluded, they repair to a stream, where a member of the bereaved family shaves a Toreya partially or completely. Some take a razor, and, after removing a patch of hair, pass the Toreya on to a barber. All the agnates are then shaved by a Badaga or a barber. The chief mourner then prostrates himself on the ground, and is blessed by all. He and the (824) Toreya proceed to the house of the deceased. Taking a three-pronged twig of *Rhodomyrtus tomentosus*, and placing a mīnige (*Argyreia*) leaf on the prongs, he thrusts it into a rubbish heap near the house. He then places a small quantity of sāmai grain, called street food, on the leaf, and, after sprinkling it thrice with water, goes away.

(789) It was noted by Harkness that, at the burning-ground, the son or representative of the deceased dropped a little grain into the mouth of the corpse, carrying in his left hand a small bar of iron, which is supposed to have a repulsive power over the spirits that hover about the dead.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

● 764 [562] The final death ceremonies, or korambu, are celebrated on a Sunday. Towards evening the house of the deceased is cleansed with cow-dung, and Badaga men assemble therein, sending away all women. The chief mourner, accompanied by two Badagas carrying new pots, proceeds to a stream, where the pots are cleaned with cow-dung, and rubbed over with culms of *Andropogon Schœnanthus*. They are then filled with water, carried to the house, and deposited in the milk-room. At the entrance to the inner apartment, five agnates stand, holding a circular bamboo tray (kerachi) made of plaited bamboo, on which the chief mourner pours a small quantity of paddy, and spreads it with a sickle. The widow and other female relations come near, and cry. A few sickles or knives (preferably those which were used at the funeral) are placed on the tray, which is saluted by all the Badagas present. The paddy is husked in a mortar, and the rice cooked with *Dolichos Lablab*, *Cicer arietinum*, and other pulses, without the addition of salt. Early on the following morning, the eldest son, taking a small quantity of the rice to the roof of the house, places seven balls made therefrom on plantain or mīnige leaves, and recites the names of the male and female ancestors and forefathers, his mother, father, and brothers. The remainder of the rice is eaten by relations. In some places, the whole of the rice is divided into seven balls, and taken outside the house. Water is sprinkled over the roof, and a portion of the rice thrown thereon. Standing up before the assembled Badagas, an elder says "To-day we have acted up to the observances of our ancestors and forefathers. New ones should not be considered as old, or old as new. There is not a man carrying a head (wise man), or a woman carrying breasts (wise

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764 woman). May he become united with the men of his clan and caste."

The funeral rites of the Udayas differ in some important details from those of the Badaga sub-division. The buffalo catching, and leading the animal round the corpse, are omitted. But a steer and heifer are selected, and branded on the thigh, by means of a hot iron, with the lingam and other emblems. Bedecked with cloths and jewels, they are led to the side of the corpse, and made to stand on a blanket spread on the ground. They are treated as if they were lingams, and pūja is done to them by offering cocoanuts and betel leaves, and throwing flowers over them. Round their necks kankanams (marriage threads) are tied. They are made to turn so as to face away from the corpse, and their tails are placed in the hands thereof. An elder then proceeds with the recitation of the dead person's sins. The Udayas bury their dead in a sitting posture in a cell dug out of the side of the grave, and, like the Irulas, prefer to use a grave in which a previous burial
(824) has taken place. At the four corners of the grave they place in the ground a plant of *Leucas aspera*, and pass a cotton thread laterally and diagonally across the grave, leaving out the side opposite the cell. Two men descend into the grave, and deposit the corpse in its resting place with two lighted lamps.

769 493 In 1905, an elaborate Badaga memorial ceremony for ancestors called manavalai, which takes place at long intervals, was celebrated on the Nīlgiris. I gather from the notes of a Native official that an enormous car, called ēlu kudi tēru (seven-storeyed car) was built of wood and bamboo, and decorated with silk and woollen fabrics, flags, and umbrellas. Inside the ground floor were a cot with a mattress and pillow, and the stem of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

NOTES

000 1. See Ward, 1821, lxx. *Baḍaga* is pronounced with stress on the first syllable.

615 2. They do not intermarry with other Badagas but find spouses either within their own phratry or from castes also called Kumba:ras and Be:das in southern Mysore.

174 175 3. The first European to write of Badagas was St. Francis Xavier, who in 1542–1544 described them as a 'horde of plundering ruffians', 'bloodthirsty horsemen' and 'savage brigands'; see Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, 218, 234–235. These people are said to have been royal tax gatherers in Travancore, where they bore the name Badagas or Vadhougers because of their northern origin. They greatly oppressed St. Francis' converts among the Travancore fisher-folk; Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, *passim*, and Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 266. Elsewhere they are stated to have come from Vijayanagar; see Maffei, 1589, vol. I, pt. 4, 431; Bertrand, 1848, vol. II, 2; Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, 219, n. 12. It seems unlikely that they had any connexion with the Nilgiri Badagas, especially as some authorities consider them Telugu speakers; see Bertrand, 1848, vol. II, 2, n. 1; Grigg, 1880, 219; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 830–831.

000 4. India now has about four million Lingayats; except for the Districts of Kolhapur (Maharashtra), Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), Coimbatore and the Nilgiris they are found solely within Karnataka State.

5. Belli Gowder was a Badaga antiquarian; in his unpublished notes he mistakenly took this date for 1212; Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 5.

6. Francis, 1908, 129; his claim that Baḍagu has *beṭṭa* for modern Kannada *beṭṭu* ('hill') is incorrect: the reverse would be true.

7. Congreve, 1847, 96–98; Grigg, 1880, 243; Sewell, 1882, 226. There is a grant of A.D. 1120 stating that Vishṇuvardhana, the first Hoysaḷa king, 'turned the Nīla mountain into a city'; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 92. The Toda name for the area is *pin tiṛ*, 'gold mountain'; Francis, 1908, 357.

174 8. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 24–26; and 1938–1941, 5–6. It was the grandfather of Tu:ne:ri's founder who migrated from Mysore, at about the time the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed.

175 9. He reports three 'villages' but there may have been more at the time, especially if the word *u:r* ('commune') has been incorrectly translated as 'village' or if other settlers later considered Badagas were not then treated as such or were not known of in that part of the plateau. An inscription on a dolmen at Me:lu:ru relating to a tiger and a grant bears the Śa:ka date 1518 (A.D. 1596), but since it is in Tamil it perhaps has nothing to do with the Badagas; Breeks, 1873, 102–103; Grigg, 1880, 240. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 100, disagrees with this view; he believes the dolmen to have been erected more recently by two Gaundans.

10. Ward, 1821, lxx-lxxi; Harkness, 1832, 109. Certain villages still claim to have been founded by an official from Ummattu:r.

177 •764 173 11. Benbow, 1930, 1–3; Karl, 1945, 1. A reference to the Mysorean practice of wearing a *sa:ri* is to be found in the funeral symbolism, wherein a female corpse is offered a piece of coloured cloth *(banṇa)*. Legend maintains that when the seven brothers of Maduve clan were fleeing from Mysore they left behind a baby slung from the rafters in a *sa:ri*. In token of their grief the women never more used *sa:ris* or cradles after settling in the Nilgiris.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Badaga Rituals

The role of the Kotas in Badaga ritual is, or at least was until 1930, a crucial one, since custom required that Kotas provide the music at Badaga funerals, weddings and certain festivals (Ward, 1821, lxxvii; Harkness, 1832, 78–79).

Badaga funerals take place in the village of the dead person. Whether they involve the Lingayat practice of inhumation or the general Shaivite practice of cremation, the ritual is not considered completely performed if a Kota band does not come to play dance music and lead the cortège. Thus as soon as a Badaga dies his village headman sends out word of the funeral plans, not only to other Badaga villages but also to the Kota partner of the dead person. This man will then arrange a party of eight Kota musicians to play at the funeral. The partner himself attends the ceremony but usually does not play an instrument then, for he is in mourning for his friend. The band regularly consists of two flutes, two drums, two tambourines (beaten with sticks) and two horns. The bandsmen go immediately to the bereaved house and there play music suitable for dancing.[10] It is a rule that the corpse should not be removed from the house until this performance has begun. However, if the funeral is to be on a lavish scale, word of it may have to be sent great distances—formerly by messengers on foot—and the Kotas will then have to play for two or three days before the main obsequies begin. Each time a party of visitors arrives from another village the Kota musicians go out with the headman a short way to welcome them. At night the Kotas light a fire on a veranda for warmth and sleep there if need be. If the dead man was rich his Kota partner may honour him by bringing two bands of musicians who take turns in playing through the night as well as the day. Once the corpse has been brought out in front of the house music is played for several hours while Badaga men dance around the catafalque. Each time the corpse is moved on for the next stage of the complex ritual it must be preceded by the band. When the corpse has finally been disposed of the Kotas return to their homes; they have not set foot on the burial or cremation ground and never enter a Badaga house.

There are certain definite articles that a Kota is required to bring to his Badaga partner's funeral. If the deceased was a male of a meat-eating (and so formerly a hunting) phratry, the Kota brings a roughly made bow and arrow to be burnt with the corpse.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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If the deceased was a vegetarian male of the Lingayat sect a small hoe is brought instead, and this has to be used for the first strokes in digging the grave.[11] This hoe is carried anticlockwise once around the catafalque on the head of a near male relative of the deceased and is then kept underneath the corpse with other presents.[12] If the deceased were a woman the Kota partner will bring two toe-rings, one for each second toe of the corpse. In the last century the Kotas also provided a dead woman with a pounding-stick (Metz, 1864, 77); today a rough one is made by her relatives instead.

The Kota partner is often requested to supply a band of musicians for a Badaga wedding if this is to be a public one. (Many weddings are held privately, 'within the family circle', to save expenses; in which case the Kota may still come, but without musicians.) At a large-scale marriage their services may be required for several days; but while the attendance of Kotas at a funeral is imperative, it is for the groom's family to decide whether to have them at his wedding. The Kota partner may also be invited to a naming or an ear-piercing ceremony and should certainly be asked to a bull-castration.

In the early years of this century the Kota man would receive from his Badaga partner a total of two rupees or its equivalent for each day the band played at any ceremony. It is now common for less than a complete band of eight musicians to attend; but each bandsman is fed and receives five rupees a day, even more if the donor is wealthy. The Kota partner, however, gets nothing for the gifts that he must bring to a funeral.

In each commune the Badagas are supposed to hold a massive memorial ceremony whenever one generation level has altogether died out, or else when sixty years have elapsed since the previous ceremony. These events begin on a Sunday and last for eight days, during which many thousands of Badagas from all over the plateau may attend. On these rare occasions the Badaga headman informs the headman of at least the nearest Kota village (indeed, he has to seek that Kota's permission), and he arranges for all the men and boys of that village to play music at the ceremony. For this purpose the Kotas divide themselves into numerous bands of eight men each and thus the dance music can be kept going day and night for the entire period, with several of the groups playing simultaneously. At the end of the ceremony these Kotas all lead the memorial procession to the cremation ground, where a cot is

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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NOTES

1. Adapted from Zvelebil, 1955, 243–244. (For 'Kurubas' read 'Kurumbas'.) In fact a number of other tribes are interconnected socially and economically with these four, and an adequate account would embrace nearly a dozen communities.
2. Roughly one Kota to every ninety Badagas (1961); see Appendix 1 and 2.
3. 'The Todas claim that the Kotas are . . . artisans specially brought up from the plains to work for them'; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7. For the location of Kota villages, see Map 2 above.
4. Respectively *Panicum miliare* and *Eleusine coracana*.
5. Emeneau, 1946, 257. Harkness (1832, 109, 135) noted: 'Each Burgher [Badaga] community now pays . . . at the rate of eighty measures [probably 65 litres] for each plough of land'. But at Kotagiri the Kotas got 182 litres from a village. Later Breeks, 1873, 42, recorded that the Kota got from each village from 37 to 74 litres of each kind of grain grown.
6. Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85. The Wodeas alone do not cook in earthenware.
7. Nowadays any small piece of iron is used; the cow is always a gift of the Badaga's wife's father.
8. If a Toda or Badaga animal strayed into a Kota herd for one or more nights it would be returned to the owner, but the Kotas would make a point of never eating that particular animal. On nineteenth century practices, see 'Rifle', 1872, 32.
9. Emeneau, 1946, 261; Mandelbaum, 1955, 241. Each Kota village constitutes a commune, separate from the contiguous Badaga communes but answerable to the *parpati*, the Badaga head of that division *(na:ḍu)* of the plateau.
10. The music and dance are performed on the *keri*, the work-space in front of each house.
11. More practicable tools are used for the real work.
12. Today the Kota simply borrows an old hoe in the Badaga village and then covers it with mud as a gesture 'to make it into a new hoe'.
13. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 15. The last time these rituals were performed was in 1936, when each household in Taṅga:ḍu had to contribute a minimum of thirty rupees; see Plates 13–14.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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439 butter but also milk and buttermilk.

A few types of basket, among them the winnows, were traditionally supplied to Badagas by Kurumbas; but the majority, including the huge grain-storage baskets, were made for the Badagas by their Toda partners, out of various types of split creeper. Certain baskets on the other hand were obtained from Kurumbas by Todas who would then weave strong edges to these before passing them on to their Badaga partners (Rivers, 1906, 630-631; Emeneau, 1938, 103).

Prior to this century, before thatched roofing fell into disfavour among Badagas, it was the Toda partner and his friends who brought the bundles of reeds needed for thatching. Until recently Todas also brought split creeper and wood needed for building the heavy wooden beds of the Badagas. Other wooden and cane items are supplied when asked for: the milk-churning stick made of cane, timber for ploughs and buildings, threshing sticks and walking-sticks with incised decorations. The flute is sometimes made by an Irula who trades it to a Toda or sometimes the Toda makes it himself to give to his Badaga partner. Until the beginning of this century Todas also made and supplied umbrellas woven of leaves. Cylindrical vessels used for milk and necessary in certain Badaga rituals, and in former days grain measures, are articles made by Todas out of wide sections of bamboo. Not only are the Badaga partners provided with such things, but sometimes a Toda will also bring a gift of fresh bamboo shoots, which are considered a great delicacy and will always draw a return gift of grain.

Cloth was formerly supplied to Todas through the Badagas, but there are two circumstances in which Todas still give Badagas an embroidered cloak. The rarer of these is when a Badaga headman needs one; for the distinctive Toda cloak was in the past virtually a [177] [760] symbol of office for Badaga and Kota headmen and would also be worn by other elders as a mark of respectability. It is also a custom for Badaga corpses to be covered with an embroidered cloak, obtained from his Toda partner by the husband of the daughter of the deceased. The embroidery is done by a wife or mother of the Toda (in a very shoddy manner if intended for a Badaga funeral). [177] [760] A coarse kind of cloth used once to be woven from the fibres of five species of local nettle, these having been supplied by Todas. Even today a bundle of these fibres (called *mañji*) is given to a female corpse during a Badaga funeral and comes from the Toda associate.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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the frequent and cheap bus services, explain in part the proliferation of alien religious practices among Badagas during this century. Among the Wainad Gaudas there has been a comparable influence from Malabar to the west, an effect of heavy immigration from that direction.

Over the past fifty years a variety of memorial ceremonies has been instituted for the anniversaries of individual deaths; previously there had no been no such commemoration. A few corpses or their ashes have been buried at places beyond the village burial grounds, and stones have been raised to mark such spots or memorial statues erected. Here the closer relatives may perform an annual *pu:ja*; or they may do *pu:ja* at home before a photograph of the deceased. Some families invite more distant relatives to the ceremony; others do not but may distribute food to the indigent. Some have the ceremony in the daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the *pu:ja*, others never work on that solemn day. In short, the scale and form of a memorial ceremony vary from family to family, but the general pattern reflects Tamilian influence.

As well as the new death ceremonies, several annual festivals have been adopted from the neighbouring plains people with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support. Over the past forty to sixty years Di:pa:vali, Ka:rttige and Ma:rgaźi have come from Tamilnad into many villages (just as the Ma:ri festival did a century ago), and Dassara, long the biggest celebration in Mysore City, has also been adopted; all of them in very attenuated form.[1]

Dipa:vali, the day on which the mythical Ra:ma was crowned after his return from Ceylon, is given very little importance. A minority of Badagas wear new dresses for the occasion but otherwise do not have so much as a *pu:ja* in honour of Ra:ma or Krishna.

Kartige extends over three days in November or December, but only the first day, dedicated to Shiva, assumes any importance. All the houses display lights throughout the night, and the priest does a *pu:ja* at the village temple, attended by most villagers. On the third day, dedicated to Vishnu, very few lights remain burning.

Dassara is also celebrated on a small scale compared with the major Badaga festivals at sowing- and harvest-time. It is universally supposed to last for ten days at the end of September, but only on the evening of the ninth do Badagas hold any celebration, and this a simple *pu:ja* to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

intra-commune or intra-village factional disputes of which no record exists; small inter-family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional divisions of Nilgiri-wide scope, one separating Hindus from Christians, and one disputing the relative superiority of Wodeas and Ha:ruvas (see above, pp. 203–204). During the twentieth century these divisions have remained and others have developed alongside them.

The Wodea/Ha:ruva dispute was intensified by another conflict in 1930 which quickly assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions (Benbow, 1930, 11, 13). It concerned the question of whether it was dignified to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral (see Plate 8; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). Those who supported the Ha:ruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music; those opposed to the Ha:ruva faction and to the use of Ha:ruva priests were equally opposed to this music. The latter, who formed the majority faction, felt that such music was an indignity to both mourners and Kotas, and that dancing was an indignity to the dead since it was an expression of joy and therefore inappropriate, un-Hindu, and 'uncivilized' in this context. Those who wanted to continue the dancing, a conservative minority, stressed that it had been an integral and time-honoured element in Badaga culture and that to discontinue it would be to dishonour and even jeopardize the deceased with an incomplete funeral. The new-found opposition to what had always been an essential part of mortuary ritual arose indirectly from contact with Tamilian culture and a consequent shift in Badaga cultural orientations, and found its leaders in the first Badaga M.L.C. and his father. Today most Badagas no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their economic connections have also been severed in an attempt to increase the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbours (Emeneau, 1938, 104–105; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). In dropping the practice of dancing at funerals while adopting anniversary ceremonies for the dead and such festivals as Ma:rgaźi, Ka:rttige and Di:pa:vali, many Badagas are now striving for upward mobility by taking the model and assuming the conduct of orthodox Shaivite Hindus. The younger Kotas meanwhile show no interest in playing funeral music or otherwise underpinning the old Badaga culture. They, too, have their handful of graduates and well-to-do families who are looking for a better style of life than that they used to know.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

population is increasing, and that the position of the Badaga has materially improved. I notice especially the facts that they are now tiling their houses, that their women and children earn money on the tea and coffee estates, and that they buy rāgi and grain from the low country, and get a better market for their straw and cattle. They wear jewels of gold and silver, saved from their earnings'; quoted by Grigg, 1880, 34. This contrasts with the situation at the start of the British occupation of the hills, when the Badagas were so few in proportion to the land available that there was no need for crop rotation, as fields could be left fallow for years at a time; Mackworth, 1823, 124–126.

3. Emeneau, 1946, 265. Ranga, 1934, 4, reports that around 1930, 'In addition to this heavy expenditure upon funerals, more than three hundred Badagas cease work for more than two days and live at the expense of the relatives of the deceased or the people of the village. The expenses of a funeral incurred by all the Badagas in a hamlet come to more than Rs. 600. To add to this, their European employers lose their confidence in the ability of these people for regular service, since they cease work without giving any notice whatever . . .'; similarly Metz, 1864, 89–90.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Pl. 8

[following p. 248-H]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Pl. 13

[following p. 248-0]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbaṭṭi), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṭe:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:txuḷy).

301 643 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranaṛi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

302 759 Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

000 177 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

264 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

243 231 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

496 291 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ɾkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṭe:ri.

778 782 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

[p. 25]

623 632

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

769 Plates 13 and 14 The *manevale* (memorial ceremony) at Ittala:r in 1905. (Courtesy Basel Mission.)

561 Plate 15 A funeral in Hulla:ḍa hamlet, 1963. The widower leads a procession of men, in order of their generation level and absolute age, three times around the •764 corpse, upon which they deposit the grain held in their hands. Unrelated men and women sit on either side of the grassy space.

778 Plate 16 Medieval carved orthostat, now a shrine, at Be:ḷḷa:ḍa.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

"bad wind" unless the death occurred in her own home. The effect of a "bad wind" the woman has encountered can also be felt by her baby or transmitted through the milk to her baby, and then it will make him sick.

One or two days after a wedding the bride, by this time perhaps no longer a virgin, returns on a belief ceremonial visit to her parents' home. As she enters the village the woman accompanying her calls out for people to keep infants and nursing mothers out of sight. The bride can set eyes on unweaned infants, but their parents must make sure that neither the children themselves nor their mothers see the girl, lest their milk dry up by reason of the "bad wind" associated with the girl's recent sexual activity. Were a nursing mother to see the bride she would probably curse her, and this could cause infertility in the latter.

More generally it is felt that the most dangerous "bad wind" would be one associated with a person who came to look at the baby just after having had intercourse. Such a person should first take a bath, then put on some clean clothes and wait at least half-an-hour. In the same way if an apparently pure man comes to visit a baby and he has travelled more than a mile he will bring a "bad wind" with him. He should therefore wait in the yard or on the veranda for a short time before entering the house. In this situation the mother would even wait the appropriate amount of time before bowing to his hand if the visitor were her own father. If a nursing mother is obliged to be near a corpse, she also will take a bath and change afterwards before going near her baby. Should an unweaned baby die all other nursing mothers in the village and neighbouring hamlets are expected to visit the bereaved house before the next sunset. They ask the unfortunate mother how she is feeling. Badagas believe that if any nursing mother who was inregular contact with this woman failed to observe this common courtesy, her own infant would soon become ill. And if such a woman nonetheless does fail to visit she must not set eyes on the bereaved mother again until after the next new or the next full moon. This is said to be because the latter might become envious on seeing the other mother nursing, and her sorrow would somehow affect that woman. The nursing mother who failed in this customary courtesy would be afraid that her breasts would dry up, should she meet the bereaved woman shortly after burial of the dead child.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

day or two before the healthy villagers return home all those who have been suffering from smallpox and have stayed in the hamlet leave it early in the morning, and stay in the jungle for a day or two themselves; nowadays they go to a town instead. By leaving early, nobody else runs the risk of setting eyes on them. They must go beyond the hamlet boundary; the intention of this being that if any smallpox remains with them somebody of a different hamlet may catch it. They return home on the evening after the rest of the inhabitants have returned, so that the latter can find a deserted hamlet at the time of their re-entry.

When this day comes the men and boys gather together their cattle and drive them into the hamlet; the implication being that it is no longer a settlement but a grazing ground. The people follow the cattle, shouting "*hau hau*" ("*Hooray!*" a ceremonial cry of jubilation), then gather up the dry thorn bushes on the work-yards and burn them. Along the front of each Badaga house is a line of flat stones set into the work-yard and projecting about a foot from the house wall. These are called *ucce gare* (lit. "urine slab"), since in the old days people could bathe or urinate on them at night without fully leaving the house and so exposing themselves to the witchcraft of Kurumbas. On returning to the hamlet somebody from each household gets a crowbar, raises one of these slabs out of the ground, and then replaces it. This brief act symbolizes building the house anew.

It is only after 19 days have passed since this ceremonial re-entry that a person from a recently evacuated hamlet can either visit another or receive visitors from one: 19 days, because 18 days is said to be the maximum period between a new moon and a full one, or *vice versa*. Followihg the eighteenth day after the hamlet re-entry a communal funeral is held for all the people who have died during the smallpox epidemic. This is done with

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

9.3. Although the Badagas do not write wills, a dying man may make a benefactory statement, each wish in it being called a *sa:la* ("debt"). It is believed that if these wishes are not followed the spirit of the dead man will trouble some of his relatives. It does not possess the wrongdoer as a ghost but puts a curse on him. Since Badagas do not believe in a further reimcarnation the spirit of the dead man will be able to go to heaven if he has done enough good deeds in this life. If his dying wishes are not followed, however, he will have to remain in limbo (*eḍe lo:ka*, "the middle place"). This dismal prospect should weigh heavily on his relatives.

9.4. In Badaga belief a person does not die when he gives out his last breath, but rather when he takes in his last breath. This breath is believed to remain in his body for the next ten days, and enables the corpse to hear and be aware of everything that is going on around it, even though the dead person cannot open the eyes, speak, or move. Thus people commonly speak to a corpse during the funeral. For most Badaga phratries this ceremony involves cremation one or two days later, on ground several hundred meters outside the hamlet. Lingayats and children are instead buried at that place, and nowadays poor widows of various phratries may have to be buried because cremation has become quite costly (Noble and Noble 1965).

9.6. Suicide is by no means uncommon among the Badagas, particularly among young married women, and it is most usually accomplished by swallowing opium. Failing that, the juice from oleander

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

Table 4. Death per thousand of the entire Rural Population of the Nilgiri Plateau, 1921-1930

	Cholera	Small-pox	Plague	Fever	Dysentery/ Diarhoea	Other Causes	Total 1,000 People
Rural Coonoor taluk (1921-25)	0.20	0.30	0.10	10.20	6.10	9.40	26.40
Ditto (1926-30)	0.01	0.08	0.05	11.47	5.81	10.90	28.32
Rural Ootacamund taluk (1921-25)	0.80	0.50	0.30	21.90	4.60	10.90	38.30
Ditto (1926-30)	0.03	0.14	0.24	16.50	4.96	11.30	33.17

565 family even though it is not one: this represents a change from the 19th Century
556 situation. Unlike the members of other phratries, however, a wealthy Toreya
(615) will only receive the respect due to a member of the gentry from the other members of his own phratry. To anyone else he is primarily a Toreya rather than a prestigeful man.

In the arrangement of marriages, although it is obligatory (as we have
582 seen) to take brides from other sibs and is sometimes acceptable to take them from
614 other phratries, it is not common or desirable to take brides from across the
615 division between gentry and non-gentry. A Kaggusi man, for example, may take a Ganda bride, thereby crossing the limits of his phratry and of the vegetarian community; yet if he is of the gentry his bride should be so too.

The gentry are the only Badaga families who have any compunctions about
567 the remarriage of widowers. No young woman of a gentry family would marry a
565 man who had performed the crucial rice-sprinkling ceremony at the funeral of his previous wife. This is therefore an exception to the usual Badaga practice of allowing remarriage freely to both widowers and widows. If a widower of the
•(764) gentry has done this ceremony he can only marry a <u>widow</u> of the gentry. With this in mind, if a widower wants another young wife as soon as his previous wife has died, his <u>brother</u> does the rice-sprinkling ceremony at her funeral instead (provided the parents of the brother's wife agree to it). This is supposed to be a public affirmation that it was really her husband's brother who had supported the dead
(584) woman; although everybody knows that this is a mere fiction. The parents of his
(581) wife must agree to the performance because they might not want their daughter married to a fictional widower, particularly if he too is treated as "gentry"; but they usually agree willingly because it is to the advantage of all concerned

779 Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently
776 begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the lingam
(778) and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as
(764) other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas
184 are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say
779 that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibs differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal lingam and their custom of burying the dead.

Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon
795 review their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided
(162) fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

The Badaga Christians live in the four Nilgiri towns and in several
621 Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a
795 family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Com-
794 mittee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more
621 (793)

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

The New Factions

578 In the year 1913 there may have been a number of intra-village or intra-hamlet factions of which no record remains; family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional disputes of Nilgiri-wide scope -- the one separating Hindus from Christians, and the one about the relative superiority of Wodeyas and Haruvas. During the present century these two divisions have remained, but others have been added to them.

578 615 764 The Wodeya/Haruva dispute was intensified by another conflict: in 1928 the rift between these two factions was deepened by a further dispute that quickly assumed all-Nilgiri proportions (Benbow 1928: 11, 13). This one concerned the question of whether it was a dignified practice to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral. The new dispute showed exactly the same division of support as in the preceding dispute: those who supported the Haruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music at funerals; those opposed to the Haruva faction were equally opposed to the Kota-music faction. This new-found opposition for what had always been regarded as an essential element in the funeral ceremony arose indirectly from the impact of Tamilian culture and a major change in the cultural orientations of Badagas: they now felt that it was an indignity to the corpse to dance around it in the village, since dancing was now held (by the majority faction) to be an expression of joy that would clearly be inappropriate in this situation. Those who wanted to continue the dancing -- a conservative minority -- stressed that it was an integral and time-honored element in Badaga culture, and to discontinue it would be to dishonor and jeopardize the deceased by performing an incomplete funeral. Most Badagas today no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their other traditional economic connections with the Kotas

(177) (184)

178 648

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

121 The extensive analysis of Dravidian kinship over the past quarter of a century, especially at the hands of Dumont, Gough, Leach, and Yalman, has rarely been insistent on maintaining a distinction between rules and practices, and authors have tended to shift from one kind of data to the other whenever it suited their purpose, usually leaving the reader to assume that kinship practices are the rules in action. This may or may not be so in a particular case, but no identity between rules and practice should be presumed.

In Badaga kinship practice we certainly find that a great deal of accommodation of behaviour becomes necessary in daily life beyond the realm of kinship rules, since many of these have not been elaborated sufficiently to provide for all possible eventualities. Take, as an example, the ritual requirement that a daughter (and in fact her husband) must make a gift of one embroidered shawl at the funeral of each of her parents: that may be identified as a rule, one that can be stated by informants and is normally followed; but if there are several daughters, some married and others not, who presents that one shawl? Here we can find no rule to guide behaviour. In one instance that came to my attention, the several daughters were married to men of differential wealth, and they had to agree to split the costs of one shawl evenly between them. In this situation the poorest of the husbands would press for a lower contribution, and the wealthier husbands would have to agree to his figure and contribute the same amount themselves so as not to embarrass him; then they jointly got a cheap shawl.

764 [121]

In another case three brothers each had one wife. The eldest had three sons and no daughters, the second three daughters, and the youngest one daughter. This meant that there would be four married daughters available to present—with their husbands' financial support—six embroidered shawls at the six funerals expected at the parental level. But before any of these deaths occurred, one daughter was divorced. The husbands of the three daughters remaining married agreed that each would make himself responsible for the purchase of two shawls, and then they designated which two funerals each would contribute these to. Brothers sometimes "divide up" their living sisters in a similar way, each thereby making himself responsible for the ceremonial and other requirements of one, two or more sisters, whether these women are married or not. In all of these examples, which I cull from recorded occurrences, there are no specific rules to guide behaviour in every eventuality. What we find instead is a rational attempt to compromise where necessary and fulfill kinship obligations where possible. Family enmities, premature deaths, lack of interest, divorce, absence, or poverty may all enter into the modification not only of kinship rules but of agreed-upon arrangements such as we have just instanced. Egalitarianism between siblings of the same sex is certainly one guiding principle here, even if circumstances make it difficult or perhaps impossible to honour.

764 607 593 121 (593)

Many of the Badaga kinship "rules" are preferences rather than prescriptions. Take the "rule" of cross-cousin marriage, for example, which is typical of Dravidian kinship systems. In the Badaga case a youth may marry

582 [121]

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

5. Adoption and Inheritance

428 Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

182 428 (582)

428 Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

763 (212)

428 There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

(736) (764) (593)

125 115 In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

423 562

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

621 poor and unable to maintain itself, the village Monegar himself by
622 his own authority or on the representation of the fact by some of the
623 villagers calls a council, and as its head directs that each well-to-do
[735] Badaga family of the village shall give to the destitute Badaga so much of their property—land, grain, vessels, houses, &c. This custom is of special interest as showing how much vitality the idea of joint property still possesses, an idea specially characteristic of the old village-community system. The importance of the Monegar and of the village council in all matters affecting the social life of the Badaga community also throws some light on its original constitution. In all the cases referred to above nothing can be done without that important functionary, the Monegar, and in everything affecting the existence of a Badaga in his village the Monegar's word is law.

761 We have now traced a Badaga from his birth onwards, and it
[766] only remains to describe the rites that are performed on the occasion of his death and funeral. If the person who has died is less than five years old, there is no elaborate ceremonial, but in the case of others the funeral rites are both elaborate and interesting.

763 As soon as all hope of recovery is gone, the dying man is given a gold coin (*Virarâyan panam*), dipped in ghee, to swallow. The relations feel happy if he swallows it, for they think that that money will be serviceable to him in the other world. If he is unable to swallow it, it is tied round his arm. Let us suppose that

764 he has drawn his last breath and let us trace the after rites. If the person that is dead is a married man, the parents or other relatives of the wife are already in attendance for the occasion and present her with a cloth, of any colour except white, worth Rs. 5. This is called the *Mukkâdu* cloth and is meant to cover her face while weeping. It is thus almost equivalent to the mourning dress of the widow in modern civilized nations. All the wife's jewels, which consist of a gold *Mûkkutti*—nose ring—*Velli Surupapi*—silver hand-bangle—and a pair of finger-rings, are removed. Her *Kadukkan*—ear-ring—alone is left on her. Unlike the custom of other Hindu societies the dead body remains inside the house till the time of its removal and is not removed to the threshold as soon as life is extinct, but the relatives do not eat till the body is about to

763 be removed from the house. News is sent out at once to all the
S64 neighbouring villages of the death that has occurred and people begin to pour in. The death news is carried by the Toraya, who perform many services for the Badagas for all of which they receive

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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763 564 payment. They are the lowest of the Baḍaga castes and are regarded as the sons of the five high castes. As soon as the Toraya who carries the sad news approaches a Baḍaga village he removes his turban, so that the very sight of a Toraya without a turban on his head is a sign that he is bringing tidings of death, and the people gather round him at once and hear the news.

535 764 (648) (775) The Kôtas, the hill-musicians, come down now with their shrill music. Then a curious dance commences and the more vehement the dance, the happier it is thought will be the soul of the departed in its transit to the other world. It lasts from morning to evening, and Torayas and Baḍagas including the near relatives of the dead Baḍaga take part in the dance. No woman mingles in the funeral dance if the dead person is a man, but if the deceased [562] is a woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the dead, takes part in it. This is as it were a notice to the mourners who come to join in the funeral as to whether the dead person is a man or a woman. If no woman is seen in the party of dancers the visitors infer before reaching the house that it is a man that is dead, while if they see a woman among the dancers they know that it is the funeral of a woman that is being performed. Only Torayas mix [648] in the dance with the Baḍagas. The Kôtas who are the musicians on this occasion are not allowed to do so, for they are considered to be of inferior, in fact, of the very lowest position. Some of the men that take part in the dance wear a curious long coat. When one has danced for a considerable time, he takes off the robe and hands it over to someone else who continues the exercise till he too has had enough of it. Whether this special dress has any peculiar significance I cannot say at present. 764 The Torayas then fetch green boughs and twigs from the neighbouring *sholas* and a car five feet long, three feet broad and eight feet high is constructed. When everything is ready all the people assembled go and show their [544] respect for the corpse by touching it on the head. The Torayas alone touch the feet and worship the departed Baḍaga, an indication that they are rather servants than equals of the departed. The corpse is then brought out of the house to a cot placed outside. The agnatic kindred then wash it by pouring water over it and decorate it. Already preparations have been made for a grand feast and before the removal of the corpse every one eats [744] his dinner, except perhaps the nearest relatives of the dead. This is to our ideas a most repulsive custom, and the only defence in favour of it is the belief they have that this feast refreshes the

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764 soul of the dead person. The same custom prevails among the Lingayats of Maisûr, and this is an additional proof of the theory that the Badagas are colonists from that country. After this is over, all lift up the corpse and place it inside the car to the accompaniments of a volley of Kôta music and a display of Toraya dancing. The whole procession now marches towards the burning ground, and at a little distance from it a curious ceremony takes place. The wife here takes leave of her departed husband. A small piece of wire from her left ear-ring and a similar bit of wire from her right ear-ring are taken out by one of the agnatic kindred of the dead person, and these are placed in the palm of her hand along with a small palm-leaf roll. She rolls all these three up in a corner of her departed husband's cloth and knots them by a thread. She returns home then with music and dancing. This may indicate her sending away her husband to the other world with symbolical indications of her own relationship to him in this world.

After the wife has thus left, another still more curious ceremony is performed. A large mud vessel containing several kinds of grain, cooked rice and ghee is brought. The eldest woman of the family of the dead—mother or grand-mother, if they are alive—mix these up and make small balls of the mixture. The first ball is given to the eldest agnatic kinsman alive, who receives it with a knife. The other balls, thirty-one, forty-one, fifty-one, or sixty-one in number, are taken by different persons. The empty mud vessel is taken up by the old woman on the end of a reaping-hook; they all march round and round the dead body with these balls; all the males go round by the right and the females by the left; each one throws his ball on the head of the corpse which becomes almost covered up by them; the old woman breaks the mud vessel at its feet. The meaning of this curious ceremony as the Badagas interpret it is that enough has been done for the departed and that the dead man's connection with those alive has entirely ceased by the breaking of the pot. The old woman who broke the vessel now turns towards the river without entering the burning ground, and all the other women too who have up to this point followed the procession now turn towards the river to bathe.

After this ceremony, the dead body is carried on the car to the burning or burying ground. Of the six classes of Badagas, three, the Kanakas, the Udayas and the Adhikâris, bury their dead and the other three burn.

So far the ceremonies are the same, both in burying and in

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764 burning the dead. A calf is then given as a present to some of the
(431) agnatic kindred and the calf-given is male or a female, according
as the person that is dead is a man or a woman. Then the corpse is
carried on to the ground where it is to be buried or cremated. On
539 the way the following recitation of sins of the dead is made with
782 prayer that they may be all excused. This almost amounts to the
764 *Sarvaprâyaśchitta* of the Hindus, which however is performed when
the person is in his last stage and before his death, or the confession
of the Roman Catholic Christians. The name of the dead party
comes first; the sins are enumerated and pardon requested. Many
enumerations are made according to the cleverness of the people
539 assembled. One such enumeration of the sins which are considered
the most important is given below:—

Śevani śettadu śâvu
Bannige danakaru Jennige
Teru Tirupadi onduge
Martiyalôgadandu
Mahâlôgaga payaṇa
Ivarê hettu hettappa mâḍiyadu
Ivare avvappa mâḍiyadu
Ivariddu mâḍiyadu
Sarvannûrû pâpa haṭṭaliyu
Basavanapâda sêdu hôgali
Aritamaga anna koḍadadu
Beratamaga bekki koḍaḍadu
Târi toriyanda maga kâḍa toriyadu
Anna tammana agala mâḍiyadu
Tiṭṭa tivara ottiyadu
Urida kichchaga uchchu hoydadu
Sarvannûrupapa haṭṭaliyu
Chinnada kambuga chêdu
Beṭṭiya kambuga oradu
Karamadu manê kaḍa muchchali
Darmada manega dâri buḍali
Hûna bê muchchali
Milapâla bigêli
Saggada kadi tareli
Savundaru nireli
Andu koṭṭa Birumanapâda hiḍidu
Indu puṭṭu Basavanapâdu hiḍidu
Śiva śandânaga ṣerili Chorus *Hâgê*

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539 which may be freely translated thus:—'This is the death of Sevani (a Badaga female). In memory of her, Jannige the she-calf of the buffalo Bannige is given in donation to atone for her sins. She goes now in a car from this mortal world to the great world (heaven). All the one hundred sins committed by the ancestors of this person, committed by the ancestors of the ancestors of this person, all the sins committed by this person herself, *viz.*, not giving of cooked rice as food to the son in distress, the not giving of fire to the neighbour, the sin of having pointed out the wilderness, and so led into difficulty the son who wanted to know the way, the sin of having ruined brothers and sisters, the sin of having taken away others' property and houses, the pouring of water on a blazing fire—may all these one hundred sins be washed away by this person coming in contact with the gold pillar[1] and by her rubbing herself against the silver pillar.[1] May the door of the house of Karma (Fate) be shut up against this person. May the door of the house of Dharma (Meritoriousness) be open to this person. May the devils and other evil beings cease their mischief to this person. May the Milapâla thread become tight to enable the soul of this one to walk over it and reach the heavens. May the door of the world of happiness (Sagga-Svarga) be open to this person. May this person become resplendent with beauty, by taking hold of the feet of that Brahma,[2] and by taking hold of the feet of this Basava[2]. May this one reach the holy presence of Śiva.' All say 'May it be so.—Amen'.

764 Let us suppose that the burial-ground is reached, and that the Badaga in the case before us belongs to a caste that is accustomed to bury its dead. The eldest of the agnatic kindred fixes a crowbar on the south side of the corpse. All the other Badagas now join him in digging a big oblong pit to contain the dead body. The body is then taken round this pit and is placed in it with its face turned towards the north. Four twigs of the Apâmârga (Tamil Nâyuruvi—*Achyranthes aspera*) are planted at the four corners of this oblong pit. A lighted lamp made of cowdung and filled with oil is placed beside the head of the corpse and threads are passed diagonally

(824) (237) (312)

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(775) [1] Gold and silver pillars are supposed to exist in the other world and the soul of the dead by coming in contact with these is believed to wash away all its sins.

(776) [2] Gods in whom the Badagas believe in this world. Basava is regularly worshipped. Śiva is the highest god in their mythology and through the worship of Brahma and Basava they reach him in the end.

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764 (237) (372) over the four twigs. The oldest relation now descends into the pit and performs his last act of worship to the dead body by lighting (or rather throwing into the fire) perfumes. This ceremony is called *Mîlapâla*—the passing of the thread (of the manes over the dead man.) Several petty things are then placed in the grave. First of all a *Liṅga*, which is supposed to give to the dead eternal felicity in the other world. Then come a small gold coin called *Virarâyapaṇa* of the old Maisûr mint, a milking vessel a bambu measure, rice and other condiments, a stick with a silver knob, an umbrella and a new basket are also placed in the grave. These are supposed to be of service to the departed individual in the other world. Whatever may be omitted, the *Liṅga* and the *Virarâyapaṇa*, the bambu measure and the milking vessel (*Hoṇe*) must always be placed in the grave. Even the poorest Badaga must not grudge these to his dead relation.

After all these arrangements are completed and the dead body is thus provided with what it needs for its journey to the other world all stand round the grave and the eldest son, or the nearest agnatic kinsman if there is not a son, takes three handfuls of earth and pronounces the following *mantra* or incantation :—

Jatige śêru jnnage śêru
Hettu hettappane śêru
Mutta muttappnê śêru :

'Mix on with your class, mix on with your people, mix on with your forefathers and mix on with the forefathers of your forefathers' All pronounce this and throw down three handfuls of earth each. The meaning is plain ; the soul of the departed is requested to join the souls of the forefathers of the family who have already departed from this life. Then the grave is covered up. In thus covering up the grave the earth must not be passed between the two legs of the person who throws it in. Then five small stones are placed over the closed grave, one at each of the four corners and one in the middle. The spade which was used in digging the grave is stuck to its handle in a reversed position and is dragged from south to north and cast away. All the men then proceed to the river, bathe, and return to their homes by dark. When they return home a lamp is lighted and is worshipped by every one of these persons. It may here be mentioned incidentally that the worship of lighted lamps is a characteristic feature of the Badaga religion. In every house the lighted lamp is worshipped, and it is a belief among them that

778 787 (354)

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778 787 (513) •764 quit the family. Thus a Baḍaga will never sleep with a light in his house, but before he goes to bed worships it and then carefully extinguishes it. A grand feast is given that night by the agnatic kindred or by a son of the dead person to which all come to eat. Both in the river and in the house the *Liṅga* is worshipped by the Baḍagas if they are of the Lingayat class.

The feast closes the first day's funeral rite of the Baḍagas. The second day's ceremony is a simple affair. It is what is called the pouring of the milk over the grave. On the morning of the second day the eldest mourner of the family starts to the burial place with five measures of the *Koraḷi* grain tied up in his cloth and a big new pot containing milk.

Worship is performed to the stone placed in the middle of the grave and the milk from the new pot is poured over it. The son pours it first and then the others follow him in turn. Each of those assembled there then takes up a handful of the *Koraḷi* grain and pronouncing the words *Avvappane seru*—'Mix yourself with your forefathers'—they cast it over the middle stone all at once. All then march round from south to north and touch the five (302) stones. They then proceed to the river, where, after having been shaved—even their moustaches are removed as an indication of their deep mourning,—they all bathe. They then worship the *Liṅga* there and return home where the same act of worship is again performed, and this brings to a conclusion the ceremonies of the second day.

The third day is a very important day and the funeral rites of the dead may be said to close with it. At 1 A.M. on that day four plantain leaves, four measures of rice, four measures of bean-seed and four new pots are made ready in the dead man's house. All (415) gather there round a *Kerachi*—a bronze pan used for frying grain, &c. Paddy is poured into this *Kerachi* by the agnatic kindred and by a son of the dead person, while five females, the wife not joining, stir it up with reaping hooks. The *Kerachi* is already placed upon a lighted fire; and while the paddy is thus being turned up the wife mourns outside with loud wailings. A handful of straw from the outside thatch of the house is brought in and lighted up in the hall —*edirmane*. The four new pots, four plantain leaves, &c., are (782) passed over it. Five or three youngsters hold the pots, while the (539) elders utter the following prayer:—

Hâl hechchali hap hechchali
Kuḍi hechchali payil hechchali,

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'May milk increase, money increase, offspring increase, and harvest increase'. The pots are then passed over the fire and thereafter taken to the river. Fresh water is fetched; the paddy is husked and the rice is cooked with salt and plantains without milk. The cooked food is now placed on the four plantain leaves. All bathe as soon as the cocks are heard crowing, worship the *Lińga* or light, as the case may be, and deposit the food spread on the plantain leaves in the *Hâgôţu*—milk room. All the people assembled stand outside. The eldest member of the village asks the question whether all are in attendance for the occasion—*Illâru bandiddârâ*. 'Yes' is the reply, when the following prayer is uttered :—

Endunâ dinadu
Naińga muttavar naţaku
Bettavar naţaku
Naińga Naţadanu
Hostu haţadallu
Haţalu hostallu,
Talai hottu gaṇḍilla
Mola hottu haṇṇillâ.
Jâtiki śêrili.
Janaka śêrili kulakke śêrili
Kôvû

which may be freely translated thus:—'We have acted now as our forefathers and the forefathers of those forefathers acted. Neither new nor old rites have we performed now; but only those which were observed from time immemorial. No man or woman lives for ever. May this individual mingle then with his creed and clan and may he live happy in the other world'. All utter this. Then the eldest member eats a handful of rice and the others also do the same in their turn. This eating is called the eating of the *Hiṇḍiya kûţu*—the tasting of the funeral rice and is considered a great sign of attachment and caste union. He who does not partake of this rice is neither a good friend nor a relation, which fact has been crystallized into a proverb :—

Hiṇḍiya kûţu timbuvavanô
Setta kula ettuvavana nî endu adhiya.

'What are you, you fool? Are you one who has partaken of the funeral rice with me, or one who has with me accompanied the dead body!' This is said of one who, without showing in these practical ways the attachment that should exist between relations, pretends

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538 to be a near relation among the Baḍagas. Thus closes the third
(764) day of the funeral rites of the Baḍagas.

The third day's ceremony is a curious and significant ceremony.
764 The lighting up of the fire inside the house and the handful of straw
brought from the outside thatch to kindle it are nothing but the
(783) simple ways of purifying a polluted house which the high-caste
Hindus employ on various occasions. The wife mourning outside,
while the grain is being turned up in the *Kerachi*, shows her grief
at the idea that her lord had become a spirit among the departed
spirits and that all his connection with this world has entirely
(783) ceased. The passing of the pots over the fire are means adopted
to purify the vessels and the house after the pollution caused by
the death. During the first two days of mourning the milk-
house may not be entered, but on the third day it may be once
more used. There the first rice is spread in order that it may
acquire some of the purity of the spot and it is there that the feast
of friends and relatives is held that is considered to be the most
binding tie and the greatest token of friendship and caste union.

In the case of those who cremate the dead body the ceremony
of the first day is almost the same as with those who bury,
though there are certain differences. Up to the end of the con-
fession the ceremonies are all the same. The car is taken to the
cremation ground where a big fire has been lit and kept ready. At
some little distance from the fire a spot is chosen for cremating the
body, and at the place chosen a pit is dug. The pit is then filled
up with firewood and the body to be cremated is placed over it. It
is covered up with fuel.

When the corpse is placed on the funeral car it is sometimes
placed with the cot also and sometimes without it. When it is
(768) taken to the funeral pile, it is taken also with the cot and some-
(556) times without it; when the former is done the cot also is cremated.
Only well-to-do Baḍagas cremate the cot along with the dead body;
in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases the cot is not cremated.
If it is the body of a female the brother or brothers or some one of
her blood relations tear up into three parts lengthwise a new
cloth six cubits long and tie the pieces round the body in the region
(121) of the heart before placing it on the pile.* It is difficult to get
the meaning of this custom from the Baḍagas, but we may guess

* This is termed *Lêkaṭṭuvada*, meaning tying up tight.

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764 the meaning of it from the analogy of Hindu custom; it is to keep the body and soul together till the ceremonies are over. [121] Why it is not done to the dead bodies of men, it is difficult to understand.

When thus the body is placed on the pile the nearest relative—
539 the son in case there is one—takes a handful of burning fuel from
764 the big pile which has been kept burning and applies it to the head of the pile with the following incantation :—

Hetta hettappa
Muttê muttappa mâḍida dharmânda
Ennavvê nappaga nâ huṭṭi
Ennavê (or appa) śetta śâvugê
Nâ tappadê tale koḷḷi bittanê
Sarvannurû Dêva ariya,

meaning :—' According to the course adopted by my ancestors and the ancestors of those ancestors, I, in justice to my having been begotten by my father and mother, and without failing to do what is needful, now ignite the funeral pile of my mother (or father) at the
764 head, while all the hundred gods bear witness to it'. This is called *Take-Koḷḷi*—igniting the pile at the head. These are the chief differences in the first day's ceremony in the case of cremating the body, but it should be observed that no stones are placed as in the case of burials.

There is more difference in the ceremonies of the second day between cremation and burial. In cases where cremation has taken place the nearest agnatic relation goes to the burning ground on the following morning with five measures of *korali*, and a small quantity of ghee in a cup, made of the leaves of the castor oil plant. All the villagers follow him with new pots. Water is brought and poured over the pile. The bones are collected and placed on wild ferns, and ghee is mixed with the bones. Three persons hold the bones in their extended hands, while all the persons who have
(539) assembled there stand in a row. The bones are passed round and every one touches them by way of respect and throws over them *korali* grain with the following incantation :—

Sâvu nilili
Kêḍu nilili
Sakala oḷḷidu âgali
Muttê muttappara dharmandavu
Betta bettappara dharmandavu
Baga Bandigi seṛali;

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'May deaths cease, may sorrows cease, may everything be for our good; by the meritoriousness of our ancestors and by the meritoriousness of the ancestors of our ancestors. May this person (that has died) mingle with them':

After the bones have thus been passed round they are taken by the three who displayed them and buried in a pit built of stone in the cremation ground with the following incantation:—

Doḍḍavar kunnavar śatli hatla
Akâlânda ikâlaga śattavakar śatti hatla
Kûṭṭâ kuṭumba ellâ ondâgi hoqali

'May the young and the old that have died, may all persons who have died from time immemorial up to the present time—may all these mingle into one'.

There is no difference at all as to the ceremonies observed on the third day. Those Baḍagas who cremate their dead perform exactly the same ceremonies on that day as those who bury.

We have thus examined as far as is possible the origin of the Baḍagas, and have seen that they are most probably immigrants from Maisûr. We have noticed the chief characteristics of the race and have traced a Baḍaga from his birth to his funeral. It has not been possible to give an account of all the ceremonies and customs of this interesting people but the main ones have been described, and it will be seen that they are essentially those of an agricultural people. It has been seen how prominent a place the buffalo and the *Hâgôṭu* or milk-house hold in their religious ceremonies. To those already mentioned may be added the ceremony which takes place at the beginning of harvest when the first bundle of ripe ears of corn is brought home, husked, cooked with milk, placed in the *Hâgôṭu* and eaten. The wants of the Baḍaga are few and his aspirations may be summed up in the following words:—*Kattadda erumê kareli bitta holu ellâ belêli*: 'May our buffaloes give us calves and may the fields yield us harvest'.

S. M. Natesa Sastri.